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JAPAN'S RIGHT TO EXIST

By

GEORGE BRONSON REA

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Japan's Right to Exist

Inevitable Aftermath of the Fiasco of Paris Brings to a Direct issue Fundamental Far Eastern Problems.—An American Solution

By George Bronson Rea, Publisher of "THE FAR EASTERN REVIEW"

FOR the present, the Japanese must remain at home. "Equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals" was rejected at the Peace Conference, excluded from the preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and deleted from the articles safeguarding minorities and freedom of belief. Eleven delegates on the league commission voted for the adoption of the Japanese proposal; seven registered against it. President Wilson, officiating as the chairman of the commission, ruled that the equality clause presented by Baron Makino required unanimity. The Monroe Doctrine clause in the covenant was rushed through the committee and adopted without the formality of a vote, while it was being opposed by the delegate of Belgium and other representatives of small nations were awaiting to register their disapproval. President Wilson simply applied the steam-roller to the committee and declared the American doctrine carried. The Japanese delegates recognized the vital necessity of the Monroe Doctrine for the protection of American interests and refrained from registering protest or uttering any adverse comment against the rather dictatorial tactics of the President, hoping that when the time arrived to consider their own vital proposal, similar consideration would be extended to them. Although deeply disappointed at the President's failure to recognize the majority rule

in the equality proposal, Baron Makino simply announced that the question would be raised again when the League of Nations is organized and in operation. Until a final decision is made by competent international authority, the world must give heed to actual facts.

A QUADRILATERAL FAR EASTERN ALLIANCE?

Colonel Edward M. House, American Peace Delegate and Former Confidential Adviser of President Wilson, finds many influential British Statesmen strongly in favor of an Anglo-American-Sino-Japanese Treaty to supercede the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. I found the same sentiment while discussing Far Eastern problems with members of the British delegation in Paris.

If the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is abandoned, some Practical Far Eastern Peace Preservative must take its place.

China should be Aided to Reorganize Herself so that she may play her Rightful Role in the Struggle to Preserve Asia's Sovereignty over Asia's Soil.

This Article is an Effort to Point the Way to an Anglo-American-Asiatic Solution of the Problem, with Advantage and Fairness to All and Malice or Injustice to None.

G. B. R.

The Japanese may not enter the United States or the British dominions in the Pacific or Africa on equal terms with other peoples. Japan has to find room for nearly a million new children a year. In twenty-five years, at the present rate of increase, there will be 30,000,000 more Japanese. Japan cannot by any stretch of the imagination absorb all this annual surplus in new industries or in cultivating the sides of Mount Fuji and other waste places in order to gratify the "blue-eyed" economists who maintain that there is plenty of room in Japan for many more millions. It may be difficult from several points of view to place in practice the foreign plans or try out the

theories designed to further compress these Japanese millions in their sardine-packed empire. Japan must find an outlet. She faces an actuality. Before the war, her people were headed eastward, across the Pacific. They are now headed westward, into Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia. If denied this outlet, they may again seek to cross the Pacific: where, if the doors of America and Canada remain locked and barred, they must turn southward to the more hospitable shores of

Mexico, Central and South America. The issue, then, is sufficiently clear. Either America, Australia, Africa or Asia must open their doors to the Asiatic. America and Australia and British South and East Africa have announced their decision in unmistakable terms and tones. Therefore, to preserve the race, the Japanese must seek their outlet in Asia or absorb their surplus in the creation and expansion of industries, which, in turn, will force their products out over the Seven Seas into the markets of the world, in competition with those of the West. The victory in the struggle for survival will go to the nation best equipped to stand the economic strain. It might go to Japan.

With Japan smarting under the arbitrary Peace Conference ruling and subjected to world-wide criticism and suspicion for her policy in China and Eastern Siberia, Governor Stevens of California reopens the racial question by calling upon the Federal government to take immediate steps to stop Japanese colonization in that state. Stringent legislation, providing for the exclusion of all Japanese from entrance into the United States, is recommended. He places the people of California on record as being determined to repress a developing Japanese community within their midst and firmly resolved to exhaust every power in their keeping to maintain the state for their own people. The governor admits that the problem is one beyond the power of solution by the state or local legislation and urges the secretary of state of

the United States to open the question at once with Japan. He expresses faith in the intelligence of the Japanese to understand the attitude of California and to recognize that it is prompted solely by the inherent desire of every race and type of people to preserve itself.

A Long Step Forward

The governor's letter undoubtedly constitutes a long step forward towards arriving at a satisfactory solution of this vexing problem; which, in default of

a fundamental settlement in a new treaty, will ultimately have to go before the League of Nations or a more practicable concert of the powers. Japan has recognized in the "gentlemen's agreement" the basic justice of California's position, except where it discriminates against the treaty rights of her subjects entitled to residence and the ownership of land. She is, however, determined to insist upon equality of treatment of all nationals, if not of nations or races.

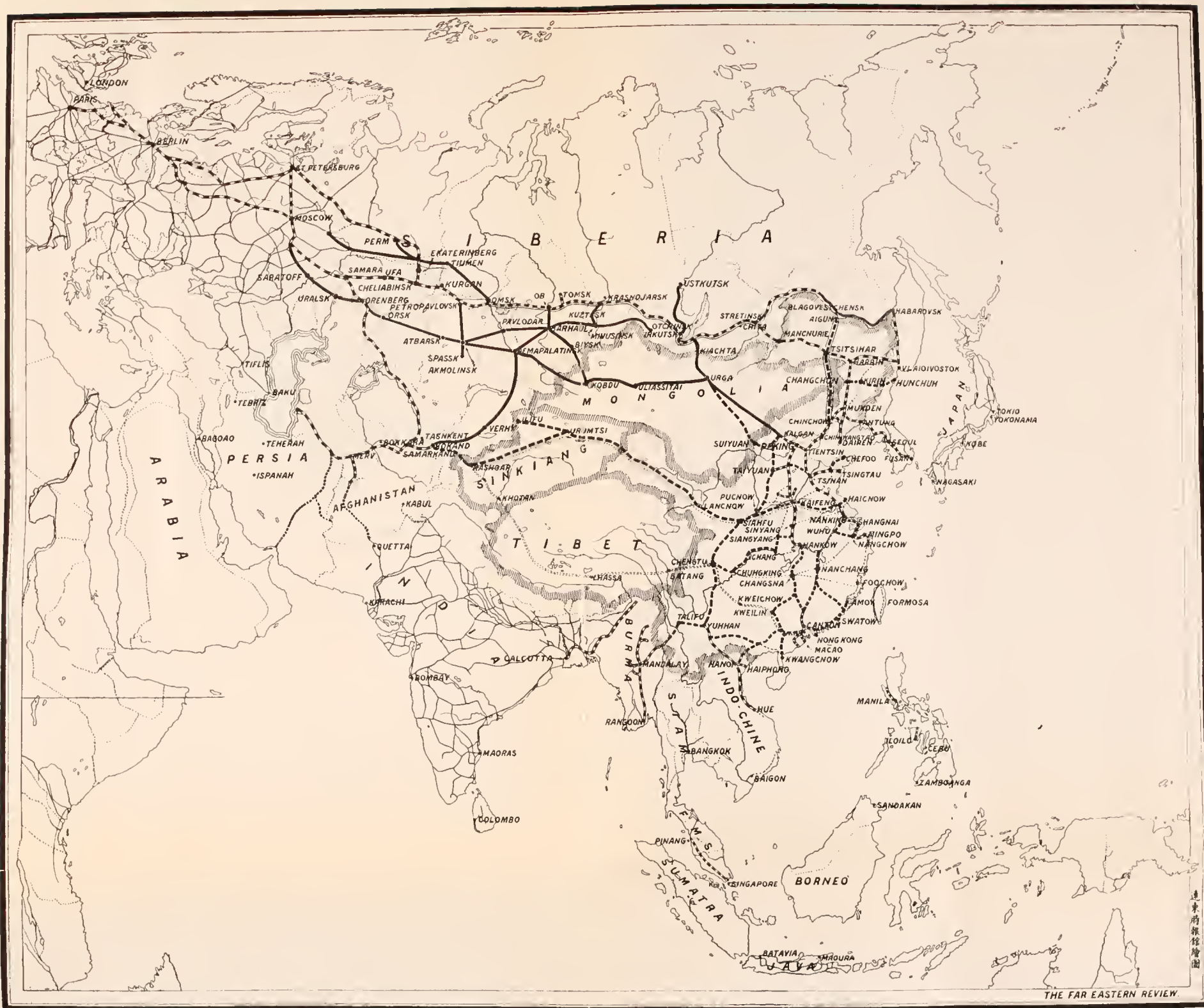
"California reposes faith in the intelligence of Japan to understand its position." So says the governor or California. This admission that the Japanese are possessed of reasoning powers provides a meeting ground for discussion. Japan is equally justified in expecting that California's intelligence is on a par with her own and that California will reciprocate by recognizing Japan's right to racial preservation. With the acceptance of this principle we have a starting point for presenting both sides of the case. As Japan's right to racial preservation—or China's, for that matter—may not be assured by emigration to America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South or East Africa, then the road must be opened to them in Asia. If the West refuses admission to the Japanese and then attempts to dictate what they shall or shall not do in Asia, when their back is against the wall fighting for existence, the way is being paved for events that will again shake the very foundations of our civilization. When any one Power

or group of Powers circumscribe the activities of a virile, rapidly expanding people, the penalty must be paid in one way or another. The laws of nations, of treaties, conventions and alliances, must give way before the inexorable law of nature. If we block their expansion, refuse them colonies in suitable climes, prohibit their emigration, and force them to absorb their surplus, we create industrial and commercial conditions, and let loose upon the world the same forces which precipitated the last great catastrophe.



HIS EXCELLENCY BARON MAKINO

Who Directed at Paris Japan's Effort to Secure for All Asia Racial and National Equality. His Able Diplomacy Secured a Majority for His Amendment, Including the Recorded Vote of the Chinese Representative, Dr. Wellington Koo. The Asiatic Plea was Rejected by What M. Gauvain, the Famous French Expert, Described as "A Miserable Technicality Invoked by the Moses of Modern Mankind."



THE CRADLE OF THE RACE PROBLEM

(Reprinted from *THE FAR EASTERN REVIEW* of September, 1912)

THE STORY OF THE MAP.—The Russian program for the conquest of Asia is clearly illustrated in the above map. The solid black lines show the projected railways devised for the subjugation of China, the enslavement of Japan and the conquest of India. From Kokand, the main Central Asian line was to penetrate Sinkiang, and pass down through the Kansu Panhandle to a port on the Yangtze. Another line was to bisect Mongolia from west to east and north to south, while still another line was to split China in twain by connecting Kalgan with Sianfu and through western China to Yunnan, there linking up with the railways of their French Ally in Indo-China. As these railways were built, the country was to be closed to Chinese colonization. Mongolia was set apart as a buffer state into which the Chinese might not penetrate. Japan's one strategic protection against the weakness of China was the South Manchuria Railway, and when Russia practically annexed Mongolia in 1912, and started negotiations in Paris for loans to construct railways in this region, Japan was compelled to advance her strategic outposts to Inner Mongolia along the line of the projected Chinchow-Aigun or Jehol-Taonan railway. The might of Russia denied to the Mongolian his right to expand within the limits of his own civilization. The racial issue was born, here, and forced across the Pacific to the shores of America. If Russia is permitted to work her will in Central Asia, the racial question must in time be solved in the Pacific. This is the story of the map.



Are we to repeat the errors of the old diplomacy? Will we deny to the people of Japan the right to emigrate and compel them to remain at home and engage in industry; and, when their products undersell ours in the markets of the world, and the struggle for existence goes against us, will we turn upon them and combine for their destruction? If we are to profit by the lessons of the past, it is much better that we recognize in time the fundamental problem of Japan and help her to find a peaceful solution, instead of blocking her at every step.

THE FAR EASTERN REVIEW has no illusions about this problem. For many years, we have led the discussions on this subject and pointed a solution. Before the Great War, when Japan, despairing of obtaining recognition of equality, suddenly terminated diplomatic negotiations with the United States over the drafting of a new treaty, the pressure of emigration was exerted towards finding its outlet in America. Since then, conditions have changed. Our views have changed with them. We have dug down to the roots of this problem and hold that the racial menace in the Pacific is the direct outcome of Russia's inordinate greed and rapacity in Asia. For over a century, the Muscovite has ridden roughshod over the defenseless peoples of Asia and annexed their territories. He has stolen from the Yellow Men the lands that God and Nature set aside as their heritage, and then encircled them with a wall of bristling bayonets. The Yellow Peril bogie did not originate with the Kaiser. He absorbed this fear from his Romanoff cousin. The statesmen on the banks of the Neva trembled at the thought of the day when Russia would meet the strangling expansion of 400,000,000 or more Chinese. They looked far into the future and formulated a set, determined policy as the basis of racial preservation. At all costs, at all hazards, the Yellow Man must be confined to China Proper and the pressure of

his increasing population diverted into other channels. This is Russia's Monroe Doctrine. In applying it, Mongolia was amputated from China in 1912 and created into an independent buffer state under Russian protection to prevent its development and colonization by the Chinese. Stringent exclusion and discriminatory laws kept the Yellow Men out of Siberia, and wherever they stepped through the cordon of Cossack bayonets in large numbers, they were turned back or ruthlessly massacred.

Up to the commencement of the World War, the armies of the Czar stood ever ready to fight for the preservation of a White Siberia. This selfish policy, compressed the Mongol flood within its own confines, and, as the pressure steadily increased, it followed the natural law and sought its outlet at the weakest point. Struggling under the heart-breaking burden of the last conflict with Russia, Japan could not afford to challenge her position. It required every yen that could be wrung from an overtaxed people, to keep up with the terrific pace set by Russia in her preparations to resume the conflict. China, who should have defended her own territories and served as a buffer for Japan, was Russia's dupe, her secret Ally, in order to be revenged upon Japan for her humiliation in 1895. Deprived of the legitimate fruits of her victory by the jealousies of the Powers (headed by Russia) and unable to find an outlet in Asia, Japan was prodded over the Pacific, and the issue shouldered



AMBASSADOR H. IJUIN

A Famous Japanese Friend of China, Former Minister at Peking and One of the Japanese Peace Delegates at Paris Who Sought an Amicable Solution of Sino-Japanese Differences. China Has a Host of Good Japanese Friends Like Mr. Ijuin; but, Instead of Helping Them to Help China, Too Many Chinese Spend Most of Their Time Antagonizing the Japanese All Along the Line.

upon the United States.

If it had not been for the Great War, America and Japan before now would have had to find a solution. It was, and still is, part of Russian, Middle European, and Chinese diplomacy and propaganda to pit America against Japan. China's weakness, her inability to defend herself against Russia, created the original issue. Her duplicity in Manchuria brought about the war between Russia and Japan, and analysis of the present situation will

indicate that the bland, agile, corkscrew diplomacy of Peking is paving the way for a war of the races between Japan and the United States. Americans are prone to overlook the all-important truth that China is also bitterly opposed to our exclusion policy,

but lacks the strength and courage to voice or back up a protest. Intelligent Chinese understand that Japan is fighting the battle for Asia, and that unless an outlet is found over the Pacific the solution of the problem must be at the expense of their very good



HONORABLE WOODROW WILSON

With all His Faults and Human Limitations a Great President of the United States and the One Figure that Towered over all others at the Conference of Paris. Mr. Wilson was President of the Commission that created the League of Nations and, Largely Because of the Mischievous Sinn-Fein Flirtations of His Subordinate, Colonel Edward M. House, He Felt Bound to Adopt Lord Robert Cecil's Adverse Attitude Towards Racial Equality. "That Requires Unanimity," said the President and the Majority's Amendment was Declared Lost.

and dear friend, Russia. If China can keep Japan out of Manchuria and Eastern Siberia, the issue will ultimately have to be solved in the Pacific.

Six red years have passed since 1914. The old Russian empire has passed away. As the Soviet republic gathers strength it will take up the traditional Muscovite program where the old regime left off. It would seem that the opportunity has arrived for the Asiatic to regain possession of his birthright. If China refuses to face her own problems and discharge her natural obligations to Japan, then it behoves the latter to lead the way and to assure to herself and China possession of the outlets required for their overflowing millions. Japan must go somewhere. She cannot go east. She must, therefore, go west, into Asia. The League of Nations was not designed to solve this problem. In a recent defence of the League in the House of Commons Mr. Balfour emphasized the fact that "those who framed the League never contemplated that they were to rearrange Europe. They contemplated that when Europe was rearranged they would see that it was maintained on the principles of peace and equity." The rearrangement of Europe implies the rearrangement of Asia. It implies the rearrangement of the strategical approaches to India, and to any rearrangement of eastern and northeastern Asia that may result from Japan's activities. The League may have to vote on Japan's claims for equality. Unless the United States is a member of the League, it may reverse the Paris decision. Again, it may not; in which case Japan must seek her outlet in Latin America or keep her children at home. Under these perplexing conditions it would seem that Japan is justified in adopting measures in Eastern Asia for the protection of her national existence in the same manner that other powers have defended their own territories against future attack. Then she can go before the League and ask for the recognition of the same principles of peace and equity that have been applied in Europe.

If denied to her, the Asiatic problem will again be shifted from Asia into the Pacific.

Not a Pro-Japanese Argument

This is not a pro-Japanese argument. It certainly does not reflect the thought of the Japanese manufacturer, banker and merchant who seek their country's greatness in the peaceful development of trade. Nor is it endorsed by the press or the vast majority of the plain people who must pay the price,

and who would prefer, if they have to emigrate, to find their opportunities in more congenial climes and surroundings. It is not an anti-Chinese argument, as they are face to face with the same problem, but with no government worthy of the name to defend their cause. It is properly American, based on a recognition of fundamental facts and with justice to all. We place the higher interests of America above those of Japan, Russia or China and firmly adhere to the belief that the racial issue, if not solved peacefully by the concert of powers, must in time be faced by some nation. It is impossible to stop the operations of nature's laws in China and Japan. The Asiatic races will multiply rapidly—how rapidly, we may calculate if only we turn to the vital statistics of Korea for an illuminating example. We will then find that the Koreans, despite the "cruelties of Japanese domination,"



AMBASSADOR KIJURO SHIDEHARA

Who Must Bear the Brunt for Japan of Anti-Japanese Agitation in the United States Caused by Failure to Recognize the Asiatic Race Question as a Fundamental Part of Far Eastern Problems. An Able Diplomat.

the spread of Christianity and the other arguments employed to invoke sympathy for their cause, are doubling their numbers in less than thirty years—six times as rapidly as the white man! Within twenty-five years, the Chinese will also increase their numbers by one-half (200,000,000) and hemmed in as they are by Russia, they also will seek their outlet over the Pacific. Just now, they are too busy fighting among themselves to give heed to these conditions, but the day is coming when they too, will begin to question loudly the right of the



From America's aims and Asia's Aspirations

THE "BIG FOUR" IN "THE ROOM OF THE FLIRT"

Making the Treaty of Peace at The President's Paris Residence in the Place des Etats-Unis. From Left to Right (seated) Premier Orlando of Italy; Premier David Lloyd George of England; Premier Georges Clemenceau of France; and President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. Standing behind them are Sir Maurice Hankey, Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George and Lieutenant Mantoux, Secretary to M. Clemenceau and Justly Celebrated for His Wonderful Linguistic Feats as Interpreter of the Peace Conference.

White Man to exclude them from the lands of the Pacific paradise. Then, China and Japan will come together. Our point of view is that there is no good reason why the youth of America, of Canada or Australia should be forced to go to war in the Pacific and be the catspaws for Russia and consolidate her sway over vast territories in Asia stolen from the Yellow Man and now urgently needed for his own expansion. There is less good reason why American boys should be called upon to lay down their lives out of mere sentimental regard for 400,000,000 sturdy pacifists who refuse to fight for themselves and whose weakness and disorganization invite the conflict. If China will perform her duty, there will be no conflict of the races in the Pacific. It may take place on the plains of Central Asia. That is where it belongs. **RUSSIA IS, HAS BEEN, AND PROBABLY WILL BE, THE MENACE TO THE PEACE OF ASIA.** There can be no permanent peace in the Pacific, no satisfactory world adjustment so long as the position of Russia is undefined and she is permitted to retain possession of these Asiatic Alsace-Lorraines that belong to the Yellow Man.

Japan and China cannot fairly expect other nations to open their doors to the surplus millions of Asia in order to facilitate Russia's occupation of their lands which she does not need for her own immediate use. Aside from all considerations of color or creed, morals or thought, which go to make up the stock arguments against the admission of the Asiatic into the White Man's countries, there enters the question of whether the White Nations of the

Pacific are warranted in opening their doors to people who have weakly handed over their heritage to Russia without a struggle, and then demand as a right free entrance for their surplus millions into other lands. Japan has recognized this sound doctrine in the "gentlemen's agreement." She has made her fight, she is still making it, manfully and in a manner that should compel respect from all other manly

people. It is not unfair or unreasonable for the fighting races of California, of Canada, Australia and New Zealand to insist that the Asiatics shall regain possession of their birthright in Asia before they invoke the right of free emigration into the other lands of the Pacific.

Unfortunately for the solidarity of the White races, the British dominions are precluded from supporting a doctrine that undermines the stability of the empire. We cannot expect that France will grow enthusiastic over a doctrine that in any way menaces her position in Indo-China and we can never hope that the idea will be graciously received by Russia. The policies of these nations must be shaped towards preserving their own positions and influence in Asia. In this conflict of interests lies the danger to the peace of the Pacific, and for this reason we are compelled to approach the problem from a different viewpoint, and urge that

simple justice be meted out to the Asiatic, in order that the issue be settled where it belongs, in Asia.

Viewing the problem from this angle, we care not for the morals involved in this presentation of the facts. We refuse to get excited about our traditional friendship for Russia, who refused to sign a new



From America's Aims and Asia's Aspirations

DR. V. K. WELLINGTON KOO

Chinese Minister at Washington, D.C., and Recently Appointed as a Delegate to the League of Nations. Dr. Koo was the Chinese representative on the League of Nations Commission at Paris. He Supported the plea for Racial and National Equality made by Baron Makino and "Asked that China's Vote be Recorded in Favor of the Principle"—See AMERICA'S AIMS AND ASIA'S ASPIRATIONS.

treaty of peace and commerce because of American insistence upon justice to the Jews. We look back and recall that our Monroe Doctrine was made necessary in order to head off the Russification of the Pacific Coast of America, and that if Russia and Middle Europe had had their way, the innocent youth of America would before now have paid the penalty for Russian greed in Asia.

The propaganda to pit the United States against Japan has been carried on without any consideration for the peace, happiness or welfare of the two countries. The issue, for the present at least, has been thrown back upon the nation that created it. Every clear-thinking American and Anglo-Saxon should heave a sigh of relief and pray for its solution by some equitable rectification of Asiatic frontier.

It is quite true that such practical solution would require a sharp deviation from the policy laid down by President Wilson in his message to the Moscow soviets, constituting treatment of Russia as a sort of international touchstone of political morality. That was during a wartime crisis, while Russia was being bamboozled and coerced by the Brest-Litovsk proceedings and before the Bolshevik dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky had definitely placed Russia, as a political entity, beyond the pale of Allied association and diplomatic relationship with self-respecting, civilized states. Since then too much foul and filthy Russian water has gone under the bridges hurriedly built by the United States and the Allies in a vain endeavor to hold on to Russian friendships and to insert Polish and other wedges between converging Slav and Teuton "drives." The general international situation does not seem to justify a continuance

of squeamish weakness in dealing with Russia. Certainly, there is no reason why we should go out of our way to sustain enemies and to embarrass and weaken friends. Above all, however, it must be remembered that this is not our quarrel, that Russia has ever been devoid of the most elementary conception of justice to others where her own expansion was concerned. We refrained from expressing our

ideas of international morality when Russia invited a coalition of European Powers to deprive Japan of the fruits of her victory over China. Japan has her own peculiar problems to solve with Russia, and should, in all fairness, be permitted to solve them in her own way. We should not interfere in Asiatic quarrels, nor should we pronounce judgement upon Japan's present activities and policies, without going back twenty-five years, and honestly trying to understand the fundamental necessity for her doctrine of national preservation. It will help to throw light on the present manifestations of a policy, whose origin has been forgotten, in all countries, save Japan.

Japan's actions cannot fairly be criticized by any of the Western Powers whose exclusion policies have forced her into continental Asia for the preservation of the race. JAPAN IS TAKING STEPS FOR HER NATIONAL AND RACIAL PRESERVATION IN NORTH-

EASTERN ASIA, IN UNISON WITH THE MEASURED TREAD OF BRITAIN'S LEGIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST FOR THE DEFENSE OF INDIA.

Harking back to the long, bitter struggle waged by Britain for the protection of her empire against the unchanging policy of Russia, whose every step in advance from the northwest was supported by a correspondingly menacing movement on the part of



From America's Aims and Asia's Aspirations

MR. LOU TSENG-TSIANG

Newly-Appointed Chinese Minister at Paris, and Delegate to the League of Nations, who was Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs and Head of the Chinese Peace Delegation at Paris. An Interesting Inside Story of the Tilt Between Mr. Lou and Dr. C. T. Wang is Given in AMERICA'S AIMS AND ASIA'S ASPIRATIONS. Mr. Lou Possesses Many Friends in Japan, the United States and Europe. He is an Honest Man.

her Ally on the southeast; recalling the fundamental necessity for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to protect both empires from the common enemy; remembering that since the armistice, Great Britain has created Thibet into a buffer state and driven her outposts deep into Persia, into Mesopotamia and Arabia; the fair-minded Briton cannot judge Japan too harshly for adopting similar measures for her own protection against the dreaded return of "The Bear that Walks Like a Man." The world views with sympathy and understanding the moves of Britain to defend her most precious possession. To criticise and condemn Japan for an identical policy in Eastern Asia, is (to say the least) unsportsman-like.

American animadversion, particularly, is as unjust as it is unsound. Circumstances have thrown the racial issue back across the Pacific, and no misap'aced regard for preserving "the germ of democracy" in Russia should deter us from extending every moral and material support to Japan in this tremendous struggle for racial and national conservation. Her fight is our fight. If her right to exist is not settled in Eastern or Central Asia, if Japan fails and Russia holds these territories, than the day cannot be long deferred when the racial question will once more become the paramount issue of the Pacific. If we are honestly solicitous for the preservation of Russia's territorial integrity, we should, in all fairness, denounce the work of the Peace Conference and withdraw recognition from Poland, and other states hacked out of the old Russian empire in Europe. We should vehemently protest against British moves in Persia, and align ourselves with the Soviet and be done with it. The promotion of the interests of the Russian people in the Far East, at a time when Russia is undoing the work of the Allies in the West

and forcing Poland to her knees, is most inconsistent. If we are more interested in the fate of Russia than in safeguarding our own future, let us be open and frank about it, so that the people of America will understand that its government is determined to draw upon them the settlement of the racial question. We refuse to admit the Japanese into the United States, we oppose them in China, and we have now constituted ourselves the champion of Russia against the

extension of Japanese influence in Eastern Siberia. The racial issue is narrowing steadily down to a contest between Japan and America. If not peacefully settled, the day may come when the manhood of America and Japan may have to pay for the greed of Russia. We are subjecting the friendship of Japan to a terrific strain, yet she still looks to us for a square deal, for the same just appreciation of her difficulties manifested by us prior to 1905.

"California reposes faith in the intelligence of Japan to understand its attitude." Is it too much for Japan to ask the rest of the world to exercise the same intelligence in trying to understand her position and to sympathise with her difficulties in finding a peaceful solution to the problem that the West has forced upon her?

Any calm study of the fundamentals of this controversy will convince us that no solution of the

California question is possible until it is approached and considered as a part of the greater Asiatic problem. The ever-recurring outbursts of anti-Asiatic agitation in America, Canada and Australia are but surface symptoms of a deeply rooted malady and cannot be treated or cured without eradicating and destroying the cause. Until this truth is grasped there can be no hope for a permanent solution. Japan naturally insists that this can be found only through recognition



From America's Aims and Asia's Aspirations

Dr. C. T. WANG

Who has declined to be a Chinese Delegate to the League of Nations, Dr. Wang was the Real Leader of the Chinese at Paris. His work was good. This Photograph was taken during the Peace Conference.



From America's Aims and Asia's Aspirations

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION

Photographed at Night. The Room at the Hotel Crillon, Paris, Where the League Covenant was Designed and Adopted. The Meeting of the Commission were Held in the Evening at the Headquarters of the American Race Mission on the Place de la Concorde. The Commissioners Seated in the Foreground are (reading from Left to Right) Colonel E. H. S. Smith, Sir John A. Macdonald, Baron Makino, M. L. B. de la Chapelle, Lord Robert Cecil, Premier Orlando—The President is Behind Lord Robert Cecil and Dr. K. J. Williams Standing Behind and to the Right of Mr. Orlando. Between Viscount Chinda and Baron Makino. Failure of These Masters of Mankind... to Evolve a Practical League of Nations Thruout the Race Question into the Forefront of International Politics.

of the equality of her people with those of other nations—a legitimate, manly and honorable viewpoint. Unfortunately, the rest of the world is not yet prepared to accept this doctrine. Japan, herself, has been very loath to apply it in her own territories and concede equality to Koreans, Formosans, Chinese and other Asiatics. Pride of race and the instinct of racial preservation operate as strongly in Japan as in the West. Without minimizing the inherent justice of Japan's plea, it is safe to say that the world would hear less about racial equality if Japan had more elbow-room and free access to fertile lands that will provide food for her unborn millions and the raw products for her mills. Such lands can be found only on the mainland, in northern Manchuria, for example, the granary of the Far East, held by Russia for purely military purposes, to facilitate the execution of her plan of unlimited expansion.

"Quo Vadis?"

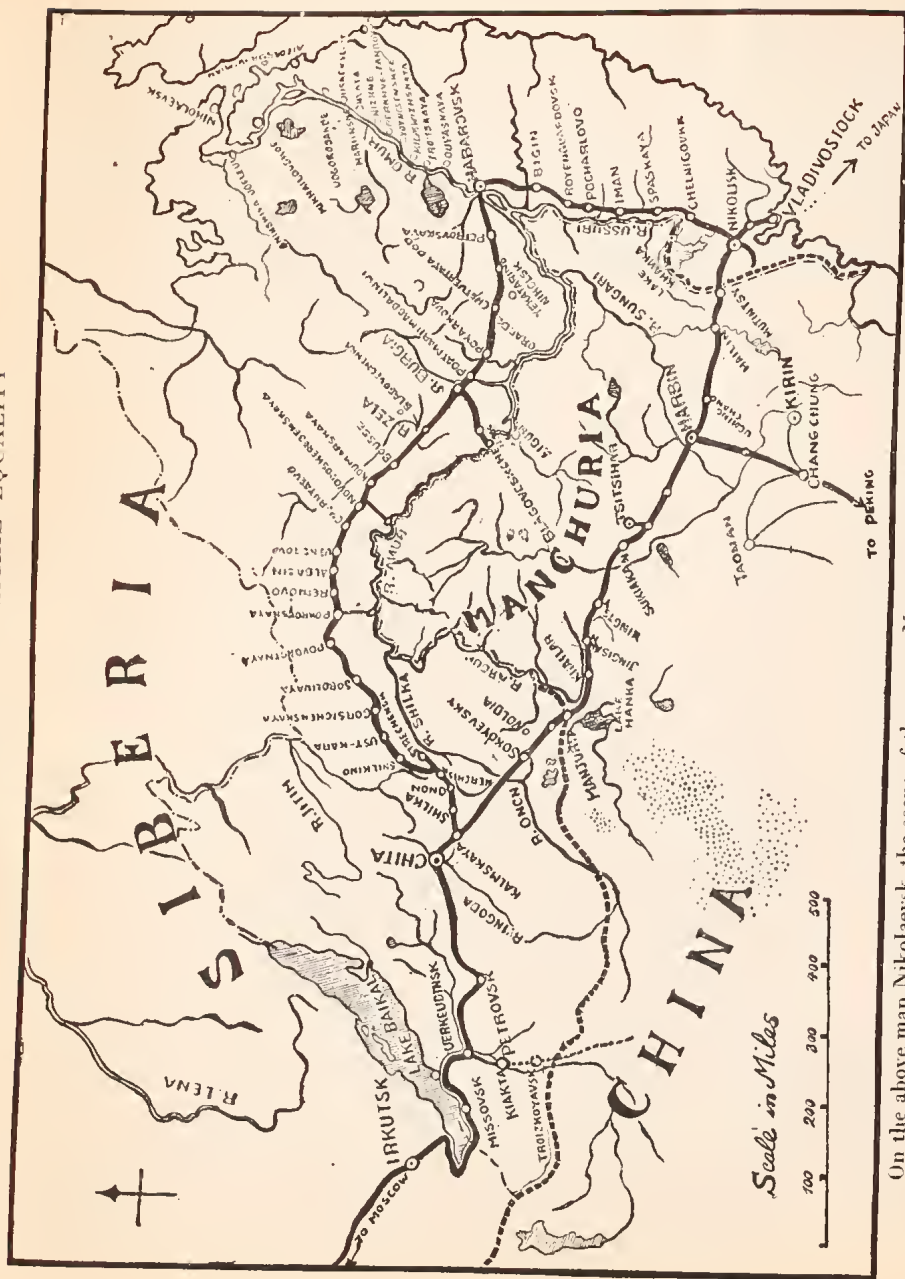
There is an alternative. Japan can satisfy all her critics and keep her people at home. She can invest all her spare wealth in clearing the slopes of her mountains, turning them into pasturage for herds of sheep and goats. Her million new children a year can be absorbed in the rapid establishment of new industries. She can manufacture clothes from the wool of the sheep raised on hill-top grazing lands. She can keep every cent of her capital at home to develop these industries and provide work for her annual increase of population. But Japan must eat. She must sell the products of mill and factory in the markets of the world in order to obtain the money to purchase her food supply. She will require a huge mercantile marine to distribute her products and import her food. Then, she must have a powerful navy to defend it. On the one hand, she will become the Germany of the East, the successful commercial competitor, incurring bitter animosities and jealousies; and on the other, she will develop into the England of Asia, a maritime power whose very existence depends upon possession of the most powerful navy in the world.

The commercial war has hardly commenced, yet we hear from all quarters of the world the same old outcry, the same arguments, the same hate-creating accusations against Japan that were so successfully employed to stir up enmity against Germany. Deprived of an outlet in America, Australia and Africa, blocked at every step in Asia, Japan is manfully striving to conform to the ideas of the West and seek progress by trade. Yet, from far and near, we hear the hoarse howling of the wolf-packs gathering for the chase.

There are two possible roads for Japan to follow. She must go into Asia or out over the seas. The road into Asia must inevitably lead to economic control over Manchuria, Eastern Mongolia, and a mandatory over a buffer state between those territories and Russia. Out of sentimental regard for democracy in Russia it would seem that this solution is being opposed by the Wilson administration. Seemingly, it has never occurred to the President's advisers that their policy can only result in driving Japan on to the sea for existence, thus increasing new points of contact with the United States. Co-operation, commercial partnerships and business understandings would undoubtedly in the long run eliminate the danger spots in these points of contact with Japan and create a mutual respect for each other's viewpoint. The best immediate solution lies in Japan's economic expansion in Eastern Asia; and, when America grasps the full significance of its bearing upon her own future peace and happiness, and the concert of powers supports Japan's plea for equality, there will be a swift end to the California question. The Japanese laborer will remain at home at his well-paid work in fields, factories and mills, while his adventurous brother will be lured westward for the development of the vast natural riches of Manchuria and Mongolia, the granary and storehouse of the industrial life of the nation.

"But," urge the arm-chair moralists; "this solution is unfair: China also needs these lands for her rapidly increasing population." Quite true, but the argument loses sight of the pertinent fact (previously outlined) of Russia's possession of Asiatic lands taken by force from the Yellow Man and required for his expansion, a situation that must inevitably shift this whole racial problem upon the innocent shoulders of Americans who have taken no part in the spoliation of Asia. It also ignores the fundamental law of the world, the primary law that gives unto the victor the spoils of battle, the law that has been twice set aside to deprive Japan of the fruits of her victories over China and Russia. Instead of entering the territory of Manchuria as a sovereign, Japan has been compelled through the jealousies of the powers to restrict her activities to partial economic control, and even here China and her friends have moved heaven and earth with their intrigues to deprive Japan of these advantages. However, the legality of Japan's economic position in Manchuria is secured by treaties, and even if China questions their validity in 1923, when the lease to the Kwangtung territory expires, it will be difficult to expel Japan from this vantage point. Let us accept for the sake of argument that the decision may be won by China and that Japan will again meekly bow to the superior might of the stronger powers. The rest of the world

THE COCKPIT OF RACIAL EQUALITY



On the above map Nikolaevsk, the scene of the recent Massacre of Japanese by Russian troops is seen plainly in the top right hand corner.

must then face a determined, highly-centralized, industrial nation, reaching out to the uttermost markets for the means of subsistence.

The Practical Solution

The most practical solution of this perplexing problem would seem to lie in some harmonious understanding between China and Japan, based upon some division of this disputed territory and joint responsibility for the preservation of lands required for mutual expansion; or some special arrangement assuring to Japan definite economic rights and privileges. We must accept the fact that the West is not yet prepared to recognize equality of the races in its bearing upon freedom of immigration, and that the surplus millions of China and Japan must be absorbed in Eastern Asia. Here, their path has been blocked by Russia. The first step towards a solution of the problem is therefore the recovery by international agreement or otherwise, of the lands belonging to China and her Asiatic neighbors which have been forcibly annexed and closed against their colonization. It goes without saying, that China, unaided or of her own initiative, will never make a move to face Russia, either in diplomacy or in arms. Only under the leadership of Japan, backed with the full moral and material support of the United States and Great Britain, can the future expansion of both people be assured and the peace of the Pacific preserved. As the population of China increases and these lands are colonized, the racial issue will shape itself into a contest between the Mongol and the Slav for the right to exist and will be settled on the plains of Central Asia, where it belongs. This is as it should be. China and Japan, excluded from the garden lands of the West, have a common cause to defend, a common destiny to work out, a common interest in the protection of their birthright in Asia. They should be friends, very good friends.

Both nations must give and take in arriving at such an understanding. Japan needs Manchuria as a guaranteed source of food supply and as a strategic base to defend her empire against Russia. China's past and present inability to protect this territory, and her tendency to facilitate Russia's designs upon Japan, constitute a supreme strategical reason why Japan must retain her foothold. China's pathetic inability to protect her sovereignty, which resulted in Russia's practical annexation of Mongolia, seriously impaired Japan's position by exposing her flank to easy attack from that direction. Japan was compelled to extend her influence and special interest to Inner Mongolia. This move was not directed against China in order to facilitate an attack upon Peking. It was not proof that Japan was bent upon conquest

or ultimate annexation of these territories. It was no evidence of Japan's militarism or imperialism, but the common-sense move of an intelligent nation to defend itself against the wanton inefficiency of a neighbor, a principle that has been applied in all other parts of the world wherever and whenever a weaker nation has menaced the existence of a stronger and better organized state. It is along the lines of the self-same principle that America has applied in Cuba, in Panama, in Nicaragua, not to speak of Porto Rico, Southern California and the Virgin Isles—for our own security against attack. The future of China and Japan can only be assured by constant vigilance along the borderlands of Mongolia. The line of defence lies not in the districts of Kalgan, Dolor-nor and other points along the Inner Mongolian border. The security of China, of Japan, of the Yellow races, may be assured only when railways have been built and their army divisions are quartered in Urga, Uliassitai, Kobdo, Ili, and other strategic points along the far-flung border lands of Mongolia and Hsinking. Once these railways are constructed and Sino-Japanese armies have been planted along the Altai border, within striking distance of the Trans-Siberian railway, never again may Russia hope to menace Japan or dictate her will at Peking. China could afford to pay well for this assurance of national security. Japan could sacrifice much for similar guarantees.

Japan Could Sacrifice Much for Chinese Friendship

China demands the restoration of the German rights in Shantung now held by Japan. The European Powers stand with Japan on the Shantung question and its bearing upon the 1915 treaties. China bargained away her position for a mess of pottage in 1918, and she may find it difficult to reopen the question through an international conference. Japan is ready to negotiate with China and to comply with her promises to evacuate Shantung and restore to China her full sovereignty, reserving only the railway and mining rights. Japan does not want Shantung. Her one preoccupation is to prevent the port of Tsingtau from ever again being handed over as a naval base to some other Power. The internationalization of this port will probably meet fully the desires of Japan on this point. If approached in a spirit of compromise, Japan might be induced to surrender to China or the Consortium Powers, the railways and mines. This would settle the Shantung question to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Japan could sacrifice much for the friendship of China. China could gain much by this friendship.

THE RACE MAP OF THE WORLD



The Color Line Cut by Population Figures

It is estimated that of 1,700,000,000 people—the total population of the world—550,000,000 are white, 550,000,000 yellow, 450,000,000 brown, 150,000,000 black and 40,000,000 red. Politically speaking, the whites are the overlords of the earth. The white and yellow races are about equal in numbers and both white and yellow races have excelled in the evolution of civilization.

Aside from the Shantung muddle, created by China's own folly and stubbornness, there remains only the major question of Japan's position in Manchuria for amicable adjustment. Here, China and the rest of the world must face the cold, hard facts. Japan won her right to that territory in 1895 and was compelled to surrender the fruits of her victory by and for Russia and her associates. A grateful China then entered into a secret alliance with Russia, and in effect handed over the Three Eastern Provinces to her ally as a base for operations against Japan. Again, Japan had to fight for her own existence and she reconquered the province. Again, all she was permitted to acquire as the fruits of her sacrifices were the Russian rights to the railway and the 25-year lease to Kwangtung. China, who had invited the conflict and handed over her territory to facilitate the destruction of Japan, escaped scot free. From 1905 to date, the entire weight of Chinese diplomacy has been centered upon dislodging Japan from Manchuria, while secretly paving the way for Russia again to manoeuvre into a favorable position to resume the conflict. The story is a long one, but the facts are irrefutable. When the Great War broke out, China was in the jaws of a huge Russian trap, through the latter's interest in the Belgian railways. Japan had no other course than to attack Germany at Tsingtau, and to forestall Russia and England in the occupation of this strategic position. When all the crooked chapters of China's railway intrigues are known, it must be conceded that there was a certain amount of justification for the Manchurian provisions of the Twenty-One Demands.

Other powerful peoples who apply the doctrine of self-preservation in the lands of weaker states when their own existence is menaced cannot justly condemn Japan for following their example. The menace to China, to Japan, to India, to all Asia, and now to Europe, is Russia. Great Britain is taking no chances against the resurrection of her formidable opponent. Her armies have been constantly occupied during and after the war in strengthening the vulnerable spots on the road to India against the day when Russia will again resume her traditional tactics. Not a word of criticism is heard throughout the world against these moves of Britain. France has her Rhine bridge-heads and other guarantees against German revenge, Italy her Fiume, and other nations have secured themselves in one way or another against attack by possible enemies. The Japanese have assured the world that they do not covet the lands of their neighbors, that they are solely intent upon safeguarding their own independence. They are right. Japan's one natural guarantee against Russia is, and should be, China. If China cannot supply that assurance, then Japan has no other course than

to step into the breach and provide her own guarantees. Japan will be just to Russia. Russia must be just to Japan. Japan is taking no chances and is creating her own guarantees against the day when the Russian people enter the family of nations as brothers and friends. This is the underlying reason for the activity of the Japanese in Manchuria and Siberia. They are applying the same principle that other nations have found necessary to protect themselves against ancient and formidable enemies. As long as China cannot assume her international obligations and guarantee her neutrality, then Japan must remain in Manchuria, always ready, always prepared, against the day when the Muscovite will again start on his devastating march to the sea.

Basis of a Sino-Japanese Agreement

What is the solution to this situation? It would seem that the real solution is some understanding between China and Japan entered into with the full approval of the United States, Great Britain and France. It could operate as another regional understanding, supplementing and reinforcing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and superseding the many separate agreements between Japan and other countries, such as the Root-Takahira, Lansing-Ishii, Franco-Japanese and other compacts having for their object recognition of China's sovereignty and the Open Door. The purpose of the agreement would be the preservation of Mongolia, Heinkiang and other outlying territories, insuring to the millions of China an outlet within the limits of their traditional civilization and could be confined in its operation to territories north of the Great Wall, or in those lands urgently required for Mongolian colonization. Such an agreement, supported by the United States, Great Britain and France, would adequately safeguard India from Russian attack through Tibet and would lead to the restoration of Chinese sovereignty over this region, thus opening up another closed territory to Chinese colonization and enterprise. As the years of the century roll past, and the 400,000,000 Chinese double their numbers, they may find their opportunity within their own lands.

An understanding that will provide for Japanese co-operation with the armies of China, strung out along the borders of Central Asia, the Altai slopes and the Mongolian desert, is the surest guarantee that the Mongolian races will be permitted full development within the confines of their own civilization. That is not unfair to Russia. If Germany has had to provide guarantees for the preservation of European peace, when a stable government is organized in Russia the rest of the world should exact similar guarantees for the preservation of the peace of Asia.

From a military viewpoint such a guarantee would undoubtedly take the form of a buffer state east of Baikal, or the establishment of Sino-Japanese army divisions at Urga, Kiachta, and other points along the Mongolian border, that could cut and control Russia's line of communication to the Far East and the Pacific coast. Such an agreement would only be simple justice to all Western peoples, especially Americans, now menaced by the perennial outbursts of anti-Asiatic frenzy. It offers restoration to China of that which has been denied to her by the might of Russia, that which she must have in the course of the present century, if she is to find room for her mounting millions of people,

China will probably refuse to consider such a proposition and carry her case to the League. Mr. Balfour's explanation of the objects of the League would however emphasize that it will not attempt to rearrange the map or redress all the wrongs of Asia. China will not be permitted to repeat the folly of the Peace Conference and convert the League into a court for the trial of Japan. As constituted for the present (with the United States on the outside) the League may, and undoubtedly will, confirm the decision of the Peace Conference. The League, with Russia on the outside, is powerless to enforce its mandates in Central Asia, and even with Russia restored to sanity and admitted as a member state, the other members may have to accept her vital policies in the same spirit as they have accepted those of the Big Five. Russia's basic policy, her Monroe Doctrine, her law of self-preservation, is directed against the normal development of China within her own territories. In the last analysis, China's hope for peaceful development, short of complete rejuvenation, lies, not with the League (whose power cannot be exercised over Russia in the depths of Central Asia), but in some friendly understanding with Japan, supported by Britain, France and America.

The Great Powers have exacted certain guarantees from the newly created states of Europe. They

must defend their independence and act as a buffer for the security of the larger states. Japan has the undoubted right to demand similar guarantees from China for the fulfillment of her obligations as a neighbor, and to hold in check the advance of the Slav. China must pay the price for her independence. If China cannot provide satisfactory guarantees, Japan must act to safeguard her national existence. If China falls, Japan falls with her. Their destinies are interwoven. Strategically, the principle is the same as the one which determined the entrance of Britain into the Great War. The violation of Belgium's neutrality was a direct blow at the life of Great Britain. If Belgium has passed completely under German rule, Britain would have had to fight against terrible odds to preserve her existence as a nation. The violation of China is a blow at the life of Japan. Politically, China and Japan stand together, over a quarter of humanity barred from other lands, who must work out their own salvation within the limits of their traditional civilization. The League cannot guarantee China against attack by Russia, therefore it cannot be depended upon to come to the assistance of Japan in the event that China fails in her role of a buffer. No Western army will ever be disembarked upon the shores of Eastern Asia to fight with Japan and China against the tidal wave of Slav penetration,

If there is to be peace with justice in Europe, there must be peace with justice in Asia. There must be justice to China, justice to Japan. If the world is seeking peace (and not war) in the Pacific, then, these two nations must be brought together. This provides a basis for settling one of the gravest problems that now make for another upheaval. If the basis is rejected, the responsibility for the solution of the racial problem is cast squarely up to the three Asiatic nations chiefly concerned. If the issue is to be settled in Asia, then the rest of the world should pursue a policy of HANDS OFF!

